UNIVERSITY HOUSE is one of a group of buildings being erected towards the southern boundary of the University site of some two hundred acres. The group will include the John Curtin School of Medical Research (in course of construction), the Research School of Physical Sciences (now virtually complete), the Research Schools of Social Sciences and Pacific Studies, and the University Library.

University House itself will serve the University in two ways. It will provide collegiate accommodation for about 120 unmarried students and staff members and a small number of apartments for distinguished visitors. In addition, it will be used as a faculty club by non-resident members and as a setting for University functions. It will thus be the social and cultural centre of the whole University. Its appointments and facilities have been designed with these purposes in mind.

The building has eight wings. The three wings enclosing the east, north and west sides of the quadrangle contain single, two-, and five-room apartments, grouped by staircases in a manner reminiscent of the older English universities. Within the curved, single-storey wing forming the south side of the quadrangle, and flanked by the ornamental pool, are a common room, a set of rooms for social purposes, and the administrative offices of the House. There are smaller apartments in the wing to the east of the tower and, in the wing facing what will eventually be an enclosed garden, a common room set aside for women residents and the wives of staff and students. The south-west wings contain the refectory, a suite of private dining-rooms, the kitchen and stores, and the domestic staff quarters.

The Council of the University has entrusted the conduct and management of the House to a Governing Body consisting of a Master and eight foundation Fellows. The first Master is Professor A. D. Trendall, formerly Professor of Greek and of Archaeology and Acting Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sydney.

The Designing Architect of University House is Professor Brian Lewis, Professor of Architecture in the University of Melbourne. The furniture designer is Mr F. Ward.

The Governing Body hope shortly to invite those interested to inspect the House.

30/2-053
To Tell Regs
Doc. 53.
(1)

The Australian National University

Opening of

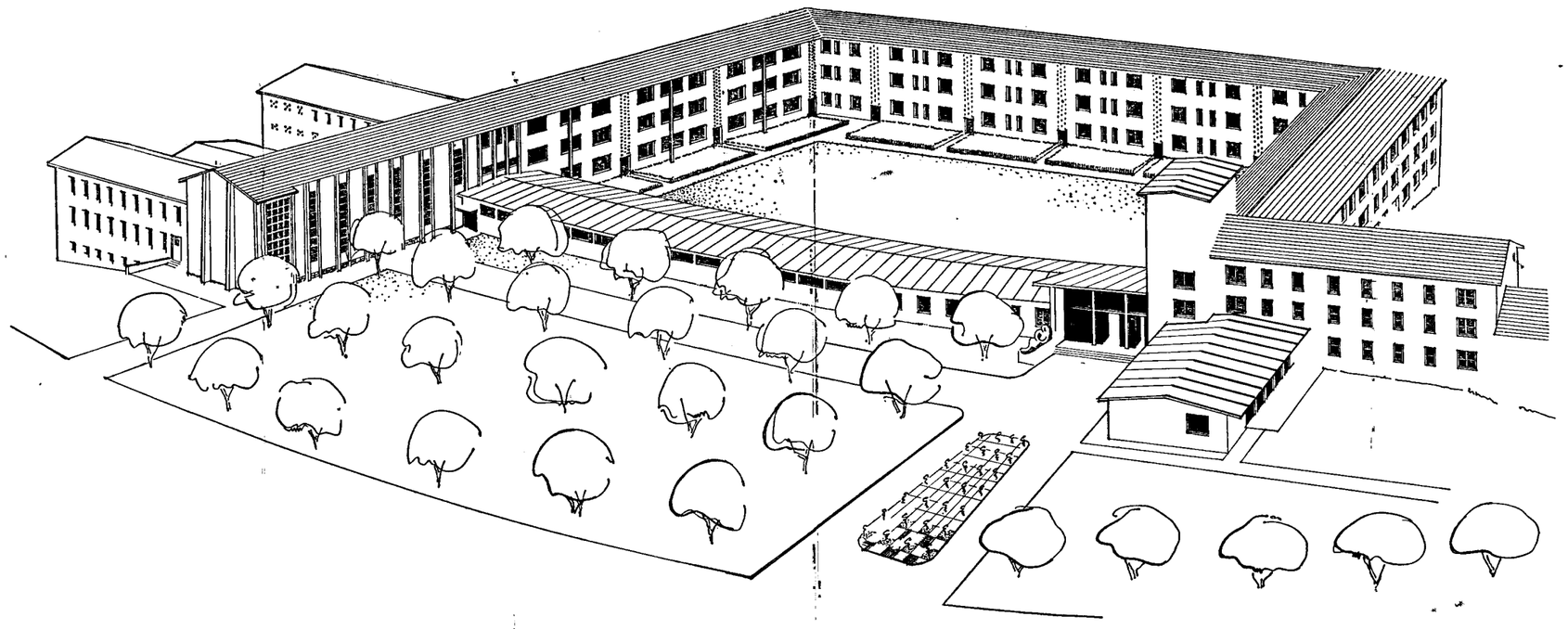
University House

by

His Royal Highness

The Duke of Edinburgh

16th February, 1954



PROCEEDINGS

The academic procession will enter the courtyard at 3.40 p.m.
followed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh and the official party

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

The Chancellor — H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh

The Chairman of the Fellows — The Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister

His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, the official party
and the academic procession will retire

Recently started in phulbari
west Garohills, meghalaya in memory of late Capt. manik Das M.C.A. T.P-(1) Doc. Sh (1) 3012-054

SHAHEED MANIK DAS

MEMORIAL K. G. SCHOOL

PHULBARI. WEST GARO-HILLS.

Rejlaxmi Press, Dhubri.

retains its original grid-iron street plan with one large focal square and four others balancing one another, is also fortunate in the breadth of many of its streets. This area contains all the best shopping streets as well as the Banks and Government Offices. It is about a square mile in extent.

The Botanic Gardens are well-known for their trees and shrubs and the wonderful collection of over one hundred distinct water-lilies including Victoria, the Amazon giant water-lily. This plant is cultivated only at the Adelaide Gardens.

SHOPS AND HOTELS

The most dignified of Adelaid's streets is North Terrace, in which stands the War Memorial, Public Library, Museum, National Gallery and University.

The main shopping streets of Adelaide are King William Street and Rundle Street, and among the principal hotels are the South Australian, the Oriental and the Richmond.

An establishment somewhat exceptional, even in Australia, is Messrs. R. M. Williams, the Bushmen's Outfitters. Here at 5 Percy Street in the suburb of Prospect, can be seen an astonishing variety of gear used in the outlying cattle and sheep stations, including objects plaited of kangaroo hide, fancy leatherwork, hats, boots, spurs and stockwhips!

EXPEDITIONS

Behind Adelaide rise the Mount Lofty Ranges which afford magnificent views over the City and Gulf St. Vincent from Mount Lofty Summit (2,344 ft.) and other vantage points. The scenery throughout the mountain area is as varied as it is beautiful. Morialta, Waterfall Gully and National Park are attractive reserves in the ranges—all within eight miles of the City by road.

Visitors to the Mount Lofty Ranges or foothills adjacent to the City can be driven past the Waite Agricultural Research Institute of the University of Adelaide which possesses an International reputation for scientific research in the field of agriculture and allied subjects. The laboratories, arboretum and experimental fields of the Institute can be seen from a frontage of approximately a mile. The itinerary of some organised bus tours includes a drive past the grounds of the Institute.

To afford passengers an opportunity of inspecting the City and visiting Mount Lofty summit and other places of interest in the ranges, the Government Tourist Bureau conducts tours from the ship's side.

BEACHES

An unbroken stretch of about 20 miles of clean sand extends from the Outer Harbour to Marino and the cool blue waters of Gulf St. Vincent provide ideal swimming conditions. Along this sparkling coastline are a number of attractive resorts of which the nearest to the City are Henley Beach and Glenelg.

AEROPLANE SERVICES

Air-liners, flying at frequent intervals and the convenient through connections link Adelaide with all the other Australian Capital Cities and with the Northern Territory and Northern Queensland. There is also an extensive chain of local services providing quick access to rural centres.

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Total Pages 5 30/2-055

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ORIENT LINE

ADELAIDE

THE reasons for the foundation of Adelaide are unusually interesting. In 1829 Edward Wakefield, a clever London writer who had never been to any colony, published "A letter from Sydney" which suggested an entirely new system of colonisation. Land was to be sold at a "sufficient price" to bring out all the labour which the colonists would require to develop it. In this way the amount of land owned could never outstrip the population. By the old method land had been so cheap that no one was too poor to buy it and therefore no labouring class existed willing to help the landowner to develop his property, which often became a crushing burden on him. Wakefield's tract was so convincingly written that the distinguished persons who read it not only believed that it came from Australia, but were convinced by its arguments. One of them wrote that its advice was "the one thing needful to make mankind rich, virtuous, and happy for the rest of their time on earth; a specific for all the disorders of the world." By chance the popularity of Wakefield's plan and the willingness of powerful speculators to give it a trial coincided with Charles Sturt's discovery of enormous tracts of rich land at the mouth of the Murray River. The foundation of South Australia was the result, not without a great struggle between public opinion (supported by the Duke of Wellington) and the Colonial Office, which strongly opposed further colonisation.

In 1836 two shiploads of settlers arrived at Kangaroo Island, which had been picked out from the map as the best spot for a colony. No survey or examination of any kind had been made, and Colonel William Light who arrived a month later in the

(2)

"Rapid," immediately saw the impossibility of the island as the site of a capital. After a survey he chose the position now occupied by Adelaide, which choice was approved by Governor Hindmarsh, who had been one of Nelson's officers at the Battle of the Nile and arrived shortly afterwards in the *"Buffalo."* At the express wish of William IV the city was named Adelaide after his Queen.

Before long it became evident that Wakefield's system of colonisation had not allowed for human frailty. Instead of working their land, the colonists speculated in it and bought enormus quantities without any intention of developing it. The labour brought out for this very purpose was left unemployed and destitute, and South Australia passed through some critical stages before reaching a settled position. Thanks to Colonel Light, whose original layout of the city foreshadowed by a century the "green belts" of modern town planners, the city proper of Adelaide is a fine island of buildings lying among the parks and gardens which form a broad belt around it and cut it off from the suburbs and the thriving areas outside. A feature which contributes much to the successful appearance of one section of these parklands has been the damming of the Torrens River so that it appears as a serpentine ornamental lake within the city. The park-encircled core of the city which

KEY

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3. ADELAIDE CLUB.
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17. SUPREME COURT.
19. THEATRE ROYAL.
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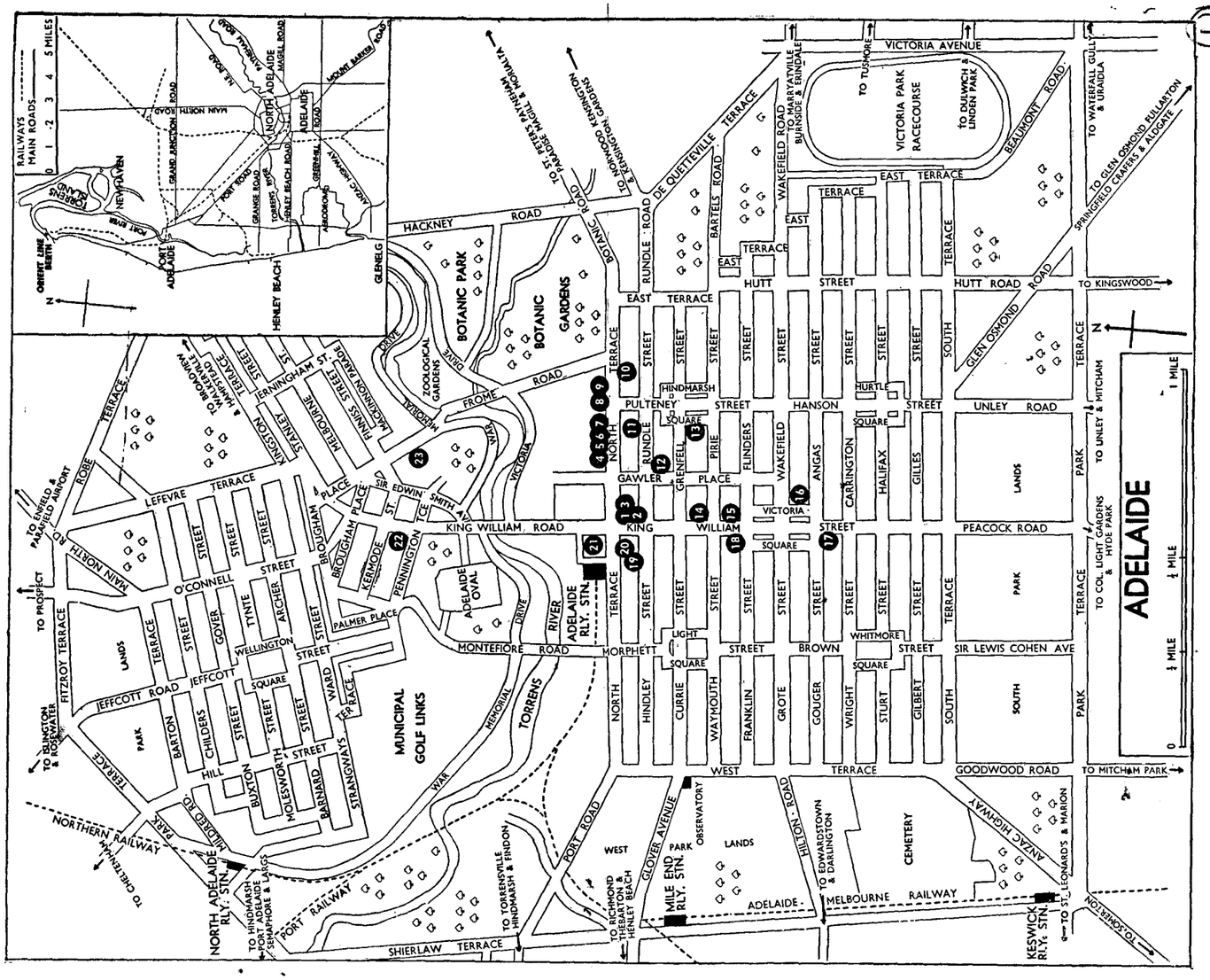
7. UNIVERSITY.



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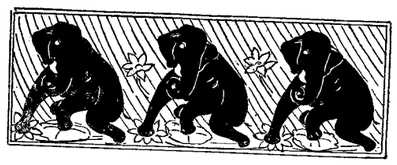

The Sino-Soviet Break

Its Strategic and Political Implications

THE crucial talks between the Soviet Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party can have only one conclusion : open break. The alternative of adopting an ambiguous statement was tried already in 1960 and it proved of no avail. So the path of even a temporary compromise is no more available. The Chinese have taken a definite stand—very clear and unambiguous—quite deliberately. Also, they have little to lose now. They can not be afraid of any further isolation. They know who are with them and who are not, or who are vascillating. Therefore, without the risk of any further loss, they stand only to gain in the continued conflict *a la* the closing sentence of Marx's Communist Manifesto. And if they really begin succeeding in this terrible struggle of tension and cold war between 'brothers' and 'comrades', they will have much to gain.

On the other hand, Moscow is equally well aware by now that a stage has been reached in the conflict when once it begins to slip, there would be no end to the sliding. It may end in a devastating and calamitous landslide. Khruschev

physical presence of the Red Army from the Soviet Union. Budapest, Poznan and East Berlin have made this simple home-truth plain to the Soviet Union long ago. Therefore, it will be the first task of the Soviet Union to continue to retain a very firm hold over these countries while undertaking the enormous fresh responsibilities in the far east. So, political control will be strengthened, and a vigorous purge to that end may be on the agenda. But Albania has already indicated a way of open defiance of the Soviet Union and it could not be disciplined as it is not adjacent to the Soviet Union. (But will not the prodigal Yugoslavia do the needful now ?) Rumania may therefore be disciplined in an exemplary fashion, so that none dare raise his head in Eastern Europe. Military, political and economic control by Moscow must increase, although these would have their inevitable repercussions. Not only the people in these countries but also the Communists who want "freedom" for themselves would be sympathising with the increased Chinese activity within these countries for "independence" against Moscow's domination.

Recent attempts by the Chinese at distribution of literature within Russia, East Germany, Rumania and other areas indicate that they have active sympathisers and supporters in all these countries. When the break with Russia is open, it will be one of the major tasks of the Chinese to disseminate their point of view within the Communist countries, particularly in the Soviet Union, and then follow it up with rallying them to a "Fifth International." Thus will be unleashed a veritable political civil war between

the Communists themselves. Expulsions of Chinese and their agents may follow and party purges may be galore. The dissidents may then begin operating from underground.

All this is bound to have a great strain on the leaders of the Soviet Union and they should naturally think that in this period of crisis and internal tension their most important international objective would be to have peace with the free world. Although the dictates of ideological controversy would require continued and even over-dramatised expressions of bravado re: the ultimate success of communism, Moscow's real policy cannot but be the working out a *detente* with the West. But the West would very likely wonder whether in is not just a temporary policy to gain time so that the ideological whirlwind may blow over and Moscow may later regain its old posture. Thus a *detente* with the West must have to be based on stabler foundations. There not only the question of N-test ban and Berlin would crop up but the more basic issue of freedom of the captive East Europeans and the building up of the U. N. as a more effective world authority are bound to arise

In Asia the effects of the conflict between the Soviet Union and China will be reflected much more sharply, primarily because of the geopolitical considerations. It would naturally be Soviet Union's policy to build up India so as to be able to confront China more effectively. For, only the possibility of involvement of China's forces in the south will deter it from undertaking a desperate adventure in its Western borders against the Soviet Union. China will be

may fall and so may many others. and Mao may rule Russia by ideological remote control.

Thus the present confrontation may either mean a clear break, or a stalemate *a la* Panmunjon sittings in Korea, which only implies that the split is a fact and that only its formal declaration is withheld from the world. Therefore the world must now begin to think in terms of the actual split and ponder over its implications and impact.

The Sino-Soviet break would basically alter the strategic power balance in the world. A period of drift and imbalance would follow till a new equilibrium on a different fulcrum comes into existence. Moscow's entire eastern frontier would suddenly be unfrozen and would begin coming to life after many decades of relative deep freeze. Quite a bulk of the Soviet Army will have to be deployed in that sector. And the same with China. Outer Mongolia, the historic apple of discord between the two Powers in this zone will naturally be involved in great tension. The strategic railway system between the Soviet Union and China will have to be adequately guarded. As it were, a huge quantum of fresh blood will have to be rushed by both the Powers to this Asiatic zone from other areas which were so long considered more sensitive to security. The military alliance between the two countries may be in jeopardy.

Moscow's prestige as a world power will be at a severe test. Its western borders are flanked by satellite East European countries where communism is itself a thin veneer maintained delicately by a handpicked administration that could be washed off the stage unless they are backed by the

acting in desperation like a mauled tiger and will be taking risks that ordinarily one does not expect to be taken. This is because of Mao'a way of thinking, of the explosive population pressure that China is experiencing and of the economic quagmire that has set in and the consequent need for a dramatic diversion. The Soviet Union is also likely to change its tone towards Pakistan. It would welcome a lessening of tension between Pakistan and India. It woul seriously plan to give military aid to India. Diplomatic activity by both China and the Soviet Union would be speeded up in at least Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia. Laos will see the clash of the conflicting Sino-Soviet policies. The major aim of Russia would now be to strengthen all those regimes in Asia who fear China, and to establish a secure bridgehead in Asia, mainly through India and Indonesia. Of course in this latter object it will come into conflict with the West to some extent, but it would not be in Russia's interest to press the differences too far.

On the other hand, China will have to exhibit some dramatic political victories in Asia. Laos is an obvious choice. But, may be, softer spots as Burma should not be excluded. It will have several strategic military advantages both against the India-Pakistan sub-continent as well as the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

A logical consequence of the Sino-Soviet break would be the sharpening of the ideological war. The issue would ultimatrly boil down to a choice between "revolutionary struggle" and peaceful change through the democratic process. Africa, Latin America and Asia will provide the vast

now the closing chapters of its conclusion are going to be no less dramatic and rapid. As of today it has a sway over a very large part of the human family. But its coming deflation and collapse would flabergast many by its speed. Or are we becoming too much of an optimist ? Possibly ; but one should take cognisance of the fact that the movement that is essentially authoritarian in character, that has lost much of its intellectual viability and has degenerated into a mere apparatus of entrenched groups of party cliques in what are essentially no more than traditional nation-states, and where the dominating motivation is craving for more and more power for its own sake, it would no longer be able to generate the necesary inner vitality and broad human appeal that a movement needs to sustain itself. The Communist movement spread far and wide within a century not merely because of the technique and compulsions of organisation but mainly due to its moral and human appeal for social justice. Today it faces the prospect of degeneration and collapse on the self-same ground, namely, that is has lost that appeal by virtue of the dominance of amoral relativism within it and the utter disregard of human personality in its actual institutional practice over the last four decades and more.

★

India and the Offer of Soviet Military Aid

RECENTLY the Soviet Union has made another offer of military aid to India. The timing of it was opportune : Sri Biju Patnaik, Sri Boothalingam and Sri T. T.

Krishnamachari had successively returned from the West after their talks for military aid had concluded, apparently without a definite assurance from the USA and the UK that *all* that India wanted would be given. Meanwhile the boiling cauldron of Sino-Soviet dispute was simmering and by then it seemed almost certain that the Soviet Union could no longer come to terms with China except on the basis of complete surrender. Therefore the public offer of greater military aid to India by the Soviet Union would, on the one hand, indicate to China that the former did not mean to remain just neutral and passive any more in the Sino-Indian conflict, and, on the other, it would, attract India more towards the Soviet Union as against the the "bargain-minded West". The Soviet Union followed this up not only by asking for an Indian delegation to visit Moscow at a time when the Sino-Soviet talks would still be going on, but also by reaffirming its support to India on the Kashmir issue.

Thus it appears the Soviet Union is rather keen and over-anxious not only to keep India truly neutral and non-aligned but also to make her lean on Soviet military help, if possible to the extent of dependence, and to free her from the "imperialist clutches", even in the matter of defence against Chinese aggression.

When the Indian delegation visits Moscow it may be indicated what the Soviet terms and intentions are. Meanwhile, to counteract the very favourable impression created by the visit of the President of India in the Unithd States and Britain, the Soviet Union pressed for a visit of the President to Russia. Air Marshall Engineer had also to pay

context over which the ideological education will be conducted by both parties. All the major front organisations will inevitable be split in two after the initial phase of in-struggle for their capture by the respective contestants. The Moscow group will take up the peace campaign with renewed vigour. The slogan of united front with other democrats and pacifists will be developed to rally public opinion on its side. While the followers of the newly established fifth inernational centred round Peking would foment tension and struggle wherever they can. The Communist parties in all countries will, after a period of agonising in-fight, split and the two parallel groups will be financed and directed by the two Centres. It is equally possible that some groups will try to play one Centre against another and make the best of the bargain, swinging from one to the other as occasion and opportunity may demand. Leaders like Castro may tend to choose such a line. But, on the whole, a great mental depression would descend on quite a large number of outstanding Communist intellectuals and sympathisers when they will be confronted with the stark reality of a vertically split world Communist movement engaged in fighting each other, a movement which because of its charisma, of its worldwide cohesion and of the passionate dedication of its leading members to an undivided loyalty to the cause had attracted them emotionally more than intellectually.

It is a little more than a hundred years that the Communist movement began to make its mark in the world. In this period it has to its credit great victories. But

an unexpected visit to Moscow possibly to explain the nature of "air support" by the West to India. And on top of this the Communists and fellow-travellers are demanding that Sri Nehru should see Mr. Khruschev soon after the Sino-Soviet conference is over.

All this indicates a sense of desperateness on the part of Moscow to secure India on the side of the Soviet Union. Of course the Russians, now placed in an awkward situation by China, would offer extremely attractive terms to India if the latter accepts the bait of remaining formally "non-aligned" but actually accepting massive Russian aid to the extent of being dependent on the Soviet Union vis-a-vis China as well as the West.

It should be remembered here that the Russian record in regard to military aid to India has not been free from blemish. It came only in small tabloid form compared to the Indian need. The Soviet Union never clearly supported India on the Sino-Indian border issue although it may do so now. Further, whatever Russian aid, which was not always directly and admittedly related to military requirements, came depended on the uneven and unpredictable trends of Sino-Soviet relations. Thus, when India was attacked by China, the Soviet Union did precious little while the West did not wait for negotiations for delivery of urgently required hardware and transport planes. The much-advertised MIGs offered were not for use but just models for future manufacture.

Thus the present seemingly big offer has been more of a corollary to the Sino-Soviet breach than an expression of intrinsic readiness to help 'non-aligned' India.

suffers from an additional complication. The diplomatic relationship interacts on the internal situation and is supported "from within the country" by its agents operating as an Indian political force, and vice-versa. No other country with which India has to deal offers this obvious and naked two-pronged pressure on her. To this may be added the third still more sensitive factor of influencing the army personnel in the name of extensive military help, if massive Soviet military aid ultimately comes about.

It is in this context that India has to weigh carefully the pros and cons of Soviet offers, made quite frequently. India is nearing a crossroad when it will be forced to choose between the West and the Soviet Union. So far it has been walking carefully over the strained rope dividing Russia and the West and fortunately it has not lost much. (Of course, if it had taken a straightforward and less ambiguous path, possibly the Chinese would not have dared to attack her). But now Russia will have to be more definite as to India's position. Is she on Russia's side or on the side of the West? For, massive military defence aid and guarantee by a Great Power implies a close military and strategic integration between the Great Power and the guaranteed-power, a close liason and planning between the military leadership of the two countries, a political harmony between the two communities. At least that is the major issue implied between India and the Soviet Union. For, geopolitically India is the only major country in Asia which can operate as the base and kingpin, unlike, say, Laos or Indonesia or Ceylon or Burma. No disrespect is imputed to these smaller countries.

It is sometimes suggested that the Soviet aid offers ar without strings. But one should remember in this contex that the Soviet Union has made it clear on more than on occasion recently that it did not like the way Indian Communists are being treated by the Government. And the Indian Government has appeared quite sensitive to this criticism. Many Communists have since been released, including those who did not agree with the so-called nationalist Dange.

Another technique of influencing the Indian policies by Moscow, to which our own Government appears sometimes to have actively abetted, is Moscow's advising Communist leaders in India. Dange's visit to Moscow and other Communist State capitals with Nehru's admitted encouragement has proved quite helpful in this respect. From the various reports already published in the Indian press and not yet contradicted, it is evident that Moscow did not like the Dange group to go wholehog on the nationalist lines, for it was always on the cards that Moscow and Peking may come to a compromise; it wanted that the CPI demanded release of *all* Communist prisoners; it did not like India taking Western military aid at a time when she needed it very badly and took the CPI leaders to task for not criticising this policy of the Government vigorously enough.

In other words, Moscow has a double-pronged approach: one, the State-to-State relationship and another, of working through the CPI as an *Indian* political factor. (In this context it is notorious that the Communist activity has all along been financed from Moscow since its very inception). Thus, the relationship between India and the Soviet Union

But the point is: that only that Power—West or the Soviet Group—which is able to operate through and with India, can work out an effective military strategy for Asia on a long term basis as a counter-balance against China. This is the implication of the competition between the West and the Soviet Union to secure Indian cooperation, the implication of military and strategic hegemony. The concept is mutually exclusive. Either the West or the Soviet Union can have it, *not both* in mutual partnership, as long as the gap between the West and the Soviet Union remains.

If India thinks that by taking help from both sides (and rovided it gets enough time) it can become an independent and self-sufficient military factor capable of complete self-defence, it is fooling itself. No single country, howsoever big, is today in a position to do so. Economically India will be completely finished if it tried to do so. Technologically no country will easily hand over its military and technological secrets to any country on the basis of complete independence. Also, today defence of a given region cannot be hermetically sealed from the rest of the world. Regional defence is willy nilly wedded to, and forms an integral part of, a worldwide strategy of defence.

For all these considerations, the idea of making India, or even South-East Asia, a self-sufficient, uninvolved non-aligned defence region is illusory and deceptive. India will have therefore to choose between the two alternative systems of world defence organisations sooner than later. It can at best delay the decision by tricks and cleverness and diplomacy, but it can do no more than that. Meanwhile, if

it tries to do that, it will be loosing valuable time as well as the goodwill and trust it has in the international field today and this will prove ultimately to be more costly at a later date when it decides to choose.

There is one more aspect to consider. Russia has been wooing India and has been applauding her non-alignment policy for a long time. But if today Russia is coming forward to help India on a military basis it is doing so more in her own interest than otherwise. Russia's eastern and south-eastern flank is surrounded by China and there are long standing issues dividing them in these areas apart from ideological disputes. Unless, therefore, China is kept engaged on the long Himalayan borders, it is quite on the cards that China may try to settle these disputes against Russia on its own terms. Thus from her own defence-strategy consideration Soviet Union *needs* India and a strong and pro-Russian India at that. It is equally possible that Russia may even encourage India to become militarily active against China under certain circumstances, to keep the latter engaged.

The point to note here is that while Russia's and India's interests overlap on certain points at certain occasions, the Soviet Union is today witholding help to China, her ally, against India in its own interests and not because it loves India more than it does China. It is this accidental unity of interests that makes for the present Russian policy of offering aid to India in its defence and it is not a question of favouring India in any way. It is not also a question of liking Nehru more than liking Mao.

The conclusion from this is that India would be substanti-

In a worldwide system of defence—which is inevitable today—complete independence is not possible. Interdependence is bound to be a basic feature. If therefore we have to choose between the two given systems of world-wide military defence, our criteria should be that we choose the system that makes for maximum flexibility for ourselves within the larger framework, and that which helps us to influence the total system and its policy decisions.

There has accumulated by now sufficient historical experience to go by within both the systems—Western and Soviet—from which we can derive our conclusions. On the one hand we have the Sino-Soviet relations as an obvious example of military and strategic disharmony, in addition to the recent experience of Cuba being cleverly utilised by the Soviet Union as a mere pawn in its missiles-strategy. The Warsaw Pact is a simple case of Soviet overlordship. On the other, we have the British, the French and the Germans continually differing from their major partner the U. S., leaving aside the experiences of the SEATO and the CENTO. The Communist bloc is rigid, ideologically oriented, domineering and too centralised and inflexible. While the Western bloc is more flexible, more amenable to a two-way traffic of ideas, more accommodating to a variety of interests. It gives a sense of partnership, of participation, of continual growth. The conclusion in terms of flexibility, accommodation, and of the possibility of two-way flow of ideas is obvious.

Thus, the basic criteria being India's interest, she should have a clear perspective before her regarding the development of her *basic* relationship with either of the two power

blocs. She should no longer deceive herself under the illusion of "independence" and "non-alignment" and be buffetted between the two blocs, losing the trust she still enjoys among both in the meanwhile.

This should not, and does not, mean that we consider Russia as not friendly, or that we spurn her offers. It only means that we have made up our own mind as to our basic relationship in terms of our security and defence, that we declare this to the world and that we also make it clear to the Soviet Union too. And any help within that framework would be most welcome.

Of course there is also the overall criteria of value. With exceptions and occasional lapses, the West does stand for a type of society that is relatively open, libertarian and progressive. While the Communist bloc as represented in its highest form by the Soviet Union is sensitive even to the extent of being intolerant to the activities of its poets and artists for no other fault of theirs except that of their creative work.

India's defence problem is not a short-term one. A stable arrangement has to be made not only for India alone but also for South-East Asia as a whole in her own interest. It is also not a question merely of military supplies from time to time or of their manufacture. It is a question of broad strategy and of building up a basic structural arrangement of defence mechanism that must remain unaffected by transitional turns and twists of policy and foreign relations. Viewed thus, India can hardly afford to play one set of offers against another and make the best of the bargain for the

ally backed by the Soviet Union in her defence against China firstly by witholding its military support to China, and secondly by the political opposition of the Soviet Union to China in favour of India. This support is assured to India because of the intrinsic nature of the situation between Russia and China today, whether India is enthusiastically pro-Soviet or not, whether India takes military aid from the West in a big way or not, whether she agrees to take massive Russian aid or not, and whether India agrees to join the Russian scheme of Asian strategy or not. Of course the the Soviet Union would any day prefer a full Indian commitment to it. But what is stressed here is that it is not correct to think that such a prior commitment is an essential condition of Russian support to India.

Given the above factors and motives under which the Soviet Union is likely to operate, India should think out clearly its policy towards the Soviet Union. For all these years there has been too much of sentimentalism and a sense of ideological involvement influencing India's attitude towards the Soviet Union. The hallowed years of 1917, Socialism, Revolution, Marxism, progressivism—all these words have had an impact of association in our immature mind, unaccustomed as we were to State diplomacy. Now that 15 years of independent nationale xistence and administration have given the Indian people a sense of reality, after many a sad mistake, it should be possible for us to draw up realistic policies, so that we may not have to balance our tight-rope- dancing like an acrobat day after day, trying to please everybody at the same time even if it may not be necessary.

moment. It is also of little import how Russia or the West will react if their offer is rejected. It is essentially a question of concieving a broad strategic perspective of Indian defence policy, and having decided on that, to consider the various offers of help from any quarter. From all that is publicly known there is hardly any evidence of such a policy decision by ndia. One can even sympathise with this, if it is kept in mind that India's perspective of peace in Asia was rudely shaken by Chinese aggression, an aggression from a quarter she had least expected. But that shock is itself several years old. Is it not then high time that an alternative defence strategy in the world context and in the regional context emerged ?

★

A Worthy Attempt to Correct the Vision

SM. Lakshmi Menon, Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, recently delivered a talk over the All India Radio, giving her "impression of a South-East Asian tour". This has been circulated by the Press Information Bureau. It is a revealing document—revealing the attempt on the part of the Government of India to make an agonising reappraisal of its foreign policy in Asia and trying to lift it from the set grooves of thought and action. As such it is most welcome. It gives us hope, although a close study of her talk will still reveal how strongly the old love (as well as hate) perseveres and inhibits the mind from taking a fresh and bold look at the facts. She admits that as she met representatives and leaders of some of the

alia must have a solid economic foundation on economic cooperation." She even thinks further aloud in concrete terms : "I have often wondered whether any *ad hoc* organisation like the Nordic Council could not be made the basis for an alliance for peace and progress in this area."

We most wholeheartedly welcome this new and a more realistic approach of hers. But is she giving her personal opinion or is she expressing the Government's point of view ? For, the Prime Minister, who is his own Foreign Minister, has not so far been heard to think in these terms publicly. It would therefore be excellent if he took an early opportunity to take the public into confidence.

However, there are some aspects that need some clarification. For example, Sm. Menon seems to realise the need to develop closer relations with the south-eastern neighbours only as a pull back from the West. She says that South & East Asia beckons us "but we are still looking to the West." She pleads, we should not "yield to this habit of a colonial age." In other words, cooperation with the West is considered something degrading, sinful *ab initio*. Thus, one can see how the old magic of "anti-imperialism" still works. It is not yet realised that cooperation with the West is essential not only for economic development but also for military security.

Further, how are cooperation with the West and cooperation with our neighbours considered mutually exclusive ? Why should one think in terms of dialectical opposites in order to justify doing a correct thing, even though belatedly ! This is particularly so when one of the admitted motivations in this region is to promote security against Communist China's

countries of this region, "the question that came up again and again was, 'why do we not take a little more and livelier interest in our eastern neighbours ?" She approvingly refers to the President of the Philippine Republic : "It is necessary for us to increase our dependence on one another by exploring new ways of economic cooperation, not with any idea of domination but to develop our economic and industrial resources for general welfare." She reports that "there is an undercurrent of respect as well as fear in these countries in their attitude towards India." Fear because "she has not cared to develop friendship with smaller eastern neighbours either. On the other hand, India criticises these countries and condemns their politics."

Giving a concrete example, she refers to our Prime Minister's statement that "SEATO has no head." To this the Philippine press commented sharply that "we do not want the Prime Minister of India to tell us that." The Foreign Minister of Thailand expressed a similar sentiment when he was in New Delhi last.

Sm. Menon feels after the tour that communism and China are a threat to these countries like a crocodile to little fishes in a stream. "The military pacts and fear of offending big neighbours should be viewed from this angle."

This understanding of the situation leads her to conclude that "individually it it not possible to hold back the surging mass of the Chinese." Particularly after India's inability to resist the recent Chinese aggression. She, therefore, feels that "isolation is not justified. A sort of alliance for progress, understanding for mutual security are needed and this inter

aggressive designs. Does she imply that once the regional cooperation is built up, co-operation with the West would not be needed ?

It is good to hear that Sm. Menon is thinking in terms of an organisation in this region. But the example of a Nordic Council is rather uninspiring when we are confronted with such an overtly and persistently aggressive power as Communist China and when there is no countervailing military power-factor provided in this region as is there in Europe. It seems Sm. Menon and possibly Sri Nehru too, are still thinking in terms of building up a peace zone from the cold war tensions—an attempt that has miserably miscarried in the past. But the very fact that she is already thinking in terms of organisation is most welcome. Let the basic ideas be clarified first and let there be greater exchange of ideas and experiences between leaders of the countries in this region, and only then the institutional form may emerge as a suitable vehicle of the combined will of the peoples in this region.

A Conference Proposed

In this connection it is time, we think, that Sri Jawaharlal Nehru called an informal conference of leaders of South and East Asian countries, particularly those who are interested to keep back the wave of Chinese communist influence. Such a conference without any rigid agenda but mainly with a view to exchange ideas freely and frankly (which only an informal conference can assure), on the burning questions of preserving their political integrity as free nations and of

strengthening their strategic defence in the region as a whole through mutual cooperation, both political and military, would lead to a greater understanding and to the emergence of a consensus.

Although time is against us, as the Chinese are likely to be provocative and disruptive of any such attempt, yet it it would be improper to hustle in convening such a conference. Probably another provocative action by the Chinese may even hasten the realisation for the need of such a get-together. In any case the Indian leadership should not come forward with a prepared and rigid mind. It is most vital that the mind of the other countries should be fully expressed and understood before the Indian leadership forms its own outline of policy ; the essence of the matter is to develop a relation of mutual trust and a sense of inter-dependence between these countries (which is absent today), and then to let a nucleus of political leadership emerge from such a climate of opinion.

Sm. Menon excluded Japan in her concept of organisation. But it is our firm opinion that Japan should form one of the important pillars of mutual co-operation for the security in the area.

The First Step

The first step in the direction of the convention of such a conference may best be the undertaking of a tour by Prime Minister Nehru in the region. This will considerably create the psychological climate for the conference, Particularly it will remove the sense of distance between India and these

General K. M. Cariappa,
'POONAMA',
Mercara, Coorg.

countries. For there is a strong and persistent, though incorrect, impression that India behaves as a haughty maiden in the region and cares little for its small neighbours, and this the P. M.'s tour should csnsiderably remove. In fact, even the proposed conference may not necessarily be held in Delhi, (*July 10*)

★

The Institute has received and is still receiving numerous letters welcoming the first issue of the English Bulletin. This has been most encouraging to us.

The contents of the Bulletin can be reproduced without any further reference to us but at the end of each contribution the name of the Institute may be indicated thus : IPSS.

Those interested to receive the Bulletin regularly are requested to register their names with us, for otherwise they may not be assured of their copy.

Director.

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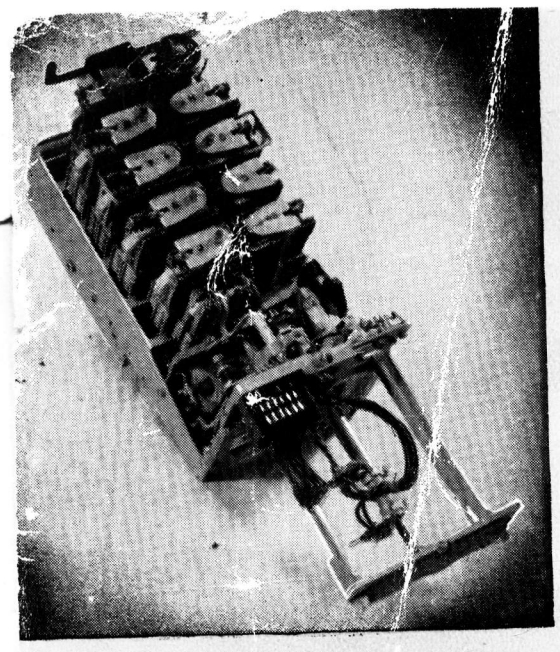
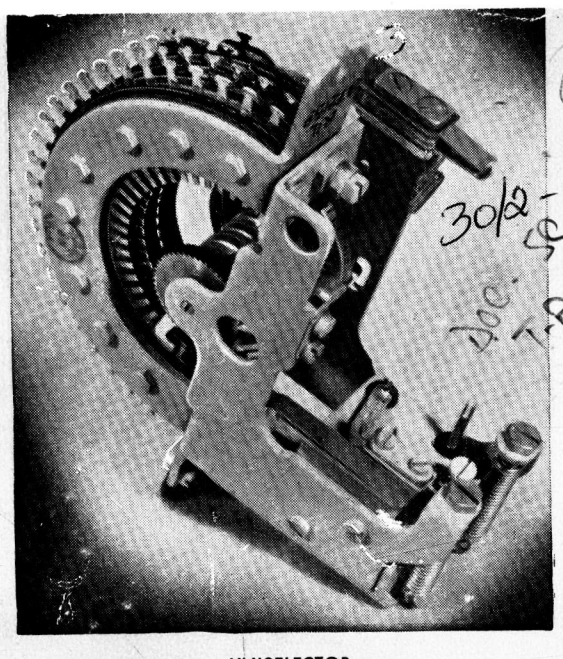
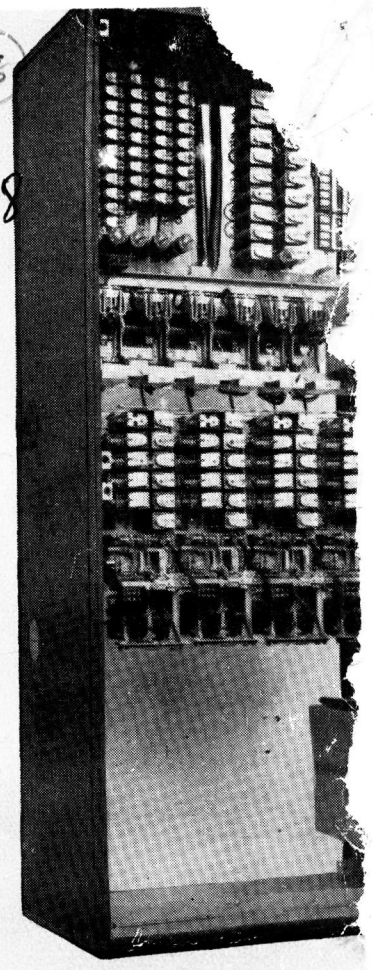


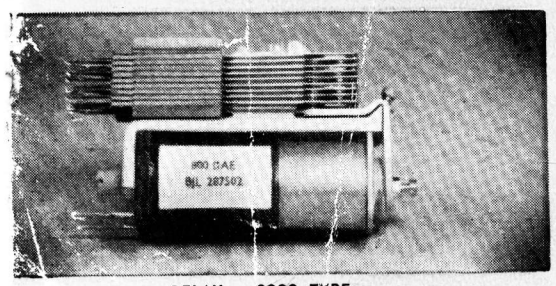
TWO MOTION SWITCH



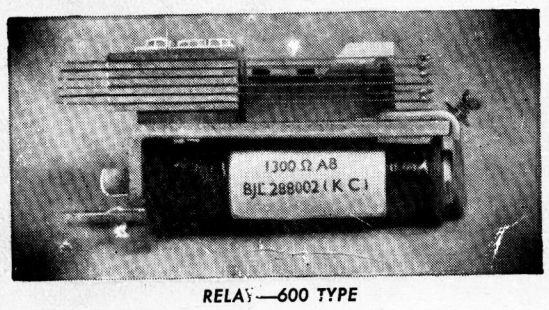
UNISELECTOR



25 LINE P.A.X.



RELAY — 3000 TYPE



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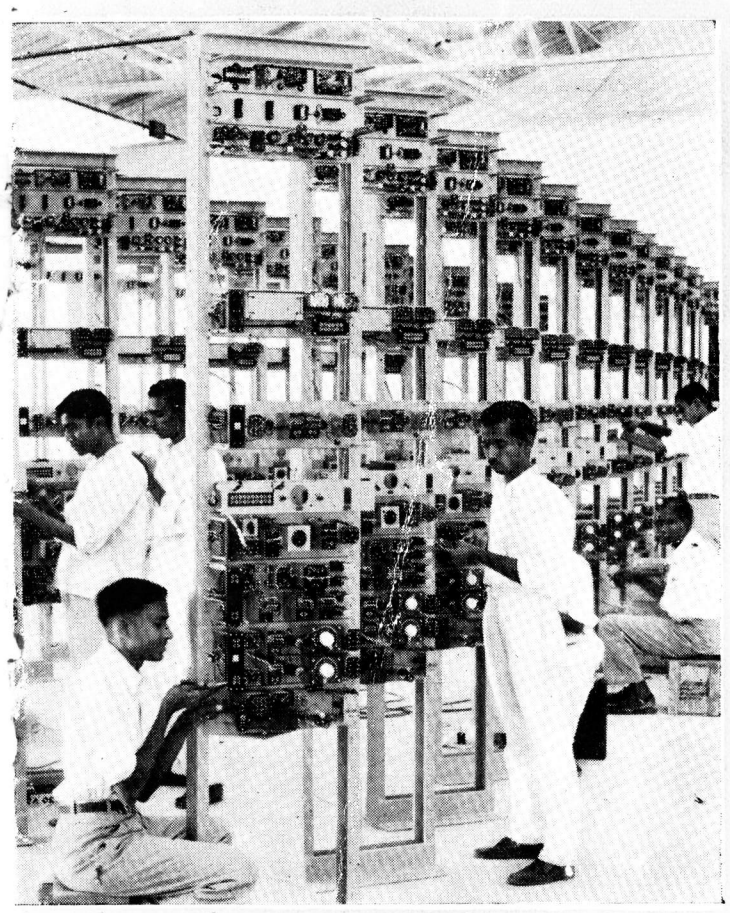
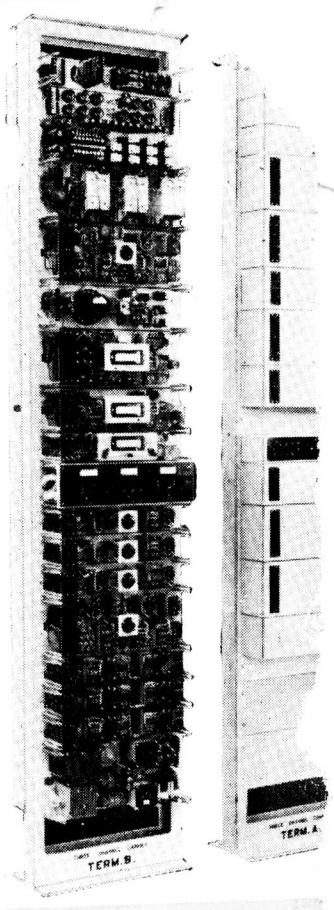


LINES OF PRODUCTION—SINGLE CHANNEL CARRIER SYSTEM

1. THREE CHANNEL (Panels Open) &
2. SINGLE CHANNEL CARRIERS ▶



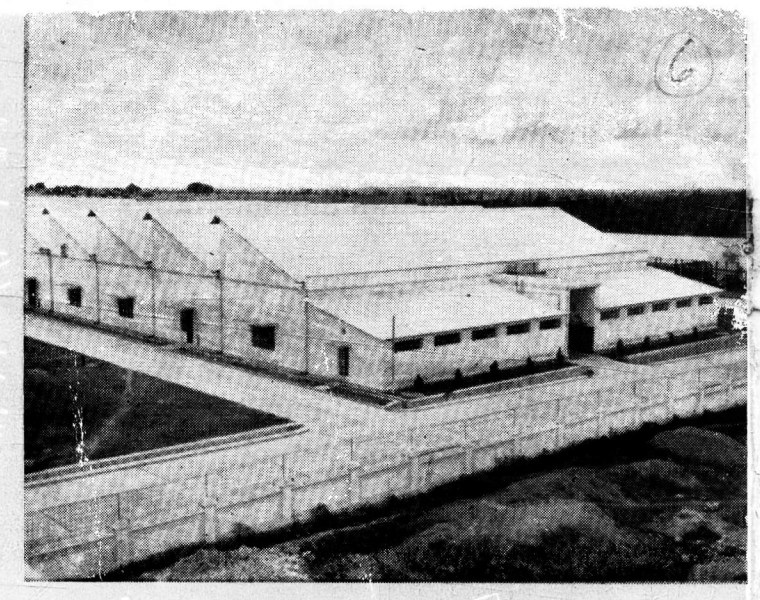
(c) TRANSMISSION EQUIPMENT

The third line of production is the manufacture of carrier telephone systems, telephone repeaters and other transmission equipment. The carrier systems enable additional telephone conversations to be carried over the pair of wires on which the system is super-imposed. Single and three channel systems are in regular production. The manufacture of 12-channel system is being taken up and it is expected that during the Second Five Year Plan period, considerable progress will be made in the manufacture of carrier telephone systems for coaxial cables.

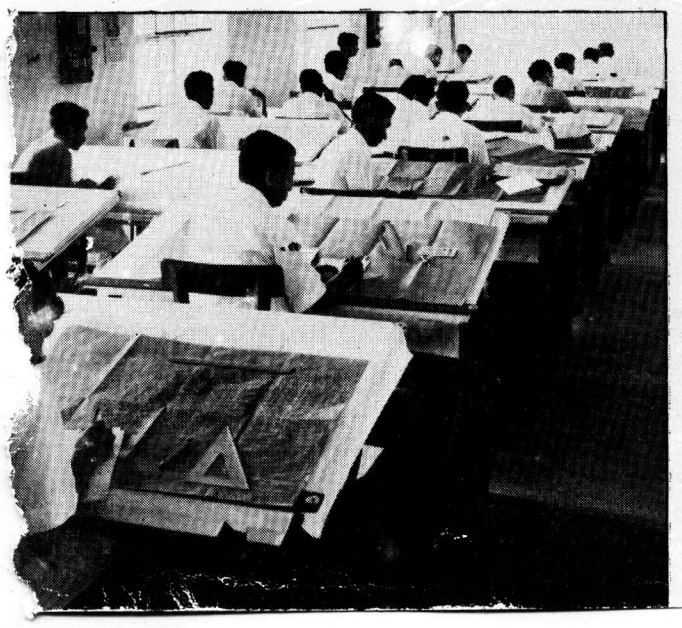
Voice frequency repeaters, secraphones and transmission measuring instruments are also manufactured.

(d) OTHER ITEMS

An automatic trunk exchange has been developed and sent out for field trials. Also under field trial are a new system of railway control working and way station telephone instruments.



ONE OF THE FACTORY UNITS



A SECTION OF THE ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

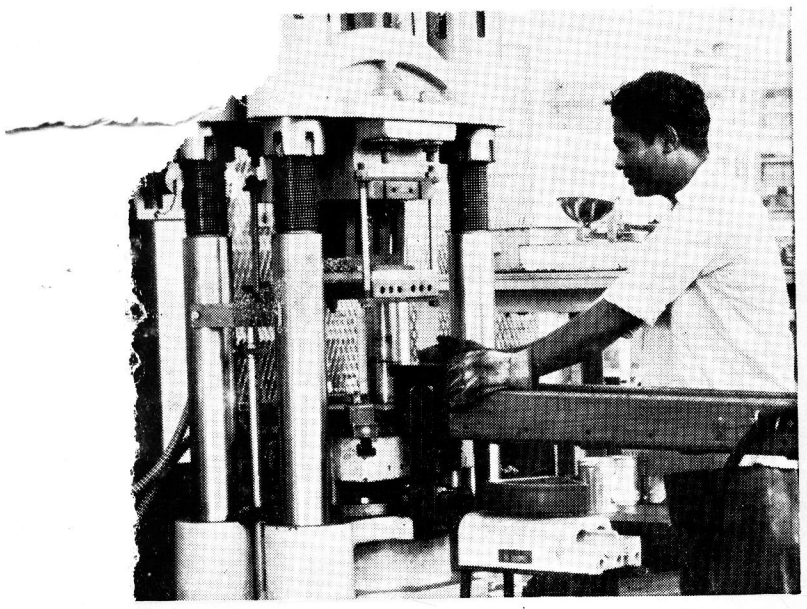
THE FACTORY AND ITS ORGANISATION

THE production of equipments listed earlier and of the components for these equipments, is carried out in nine arge units, each having an area of 30,000 square feet or iore. An efficient exhaust system provides ample ventilation. he natural lighting is good. High grade precision machines ave been installed; special jigs and fixtures are extensively sed to simplify the work and to enable most of it to be lone by workmen with moderate skill.

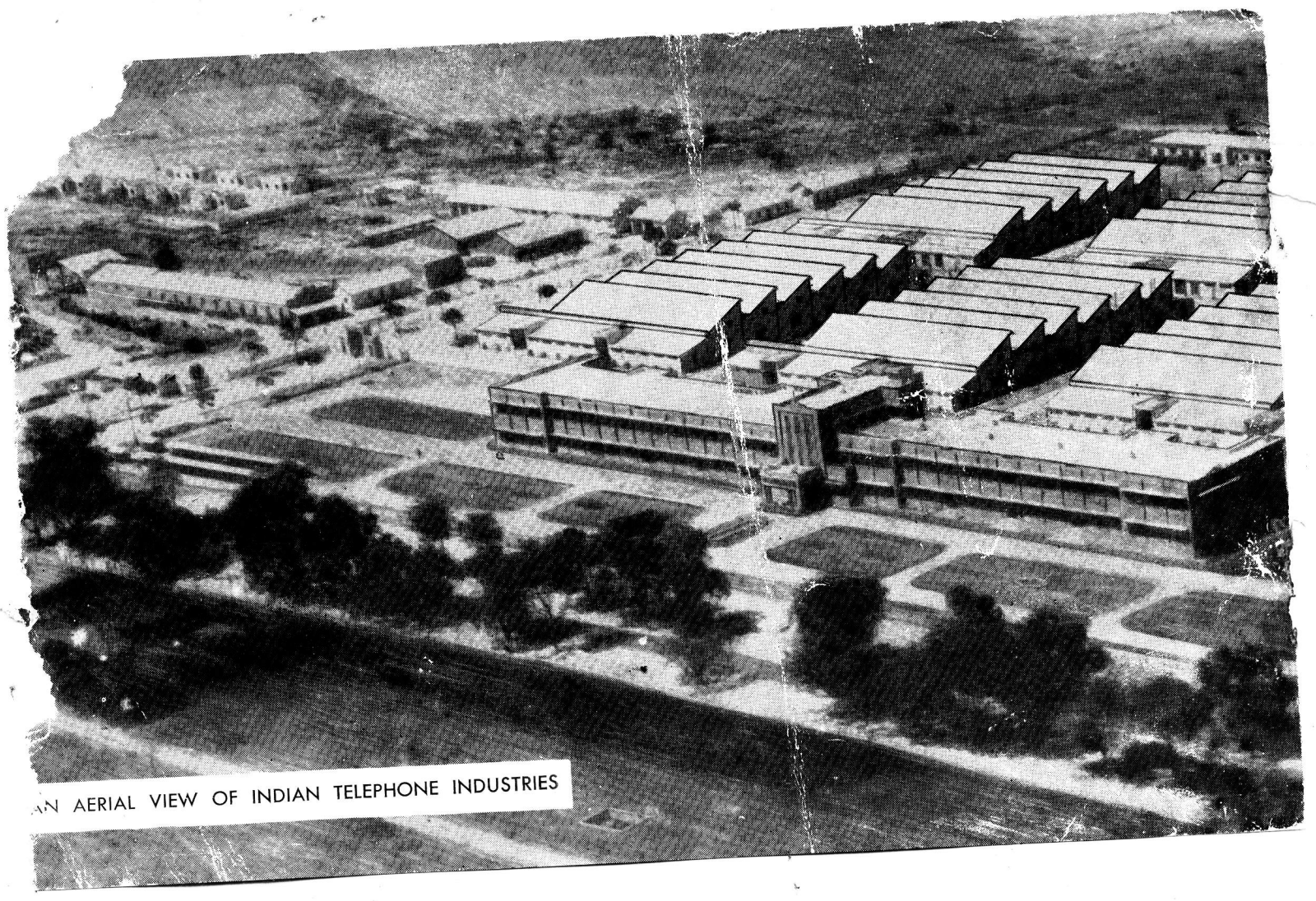
Before the production of any article can be taken up, here are quite a few things that need attention. The specifications for the materials to be used have to be decided, the specifications for the components and assemblies have to be drawn up. For every component one or more manufacturing drawing has to be made. Every exchange has to be individually tailored as one exchange is quite different from another in various ways such as layout, relative quantities of equipment and facilities available. All this design and specification work is done in a separate department called the *Engineering Department*, where a number of well qualified tele-communication engineers and draftsmen are always busy.

The next stage takes us to the *Production Planning Department* which orders and controls the raw materials and the manufacture of components and equipments. Based on their demands, the *Purchase Department* looks after the procurement of all raw materials etc. The *Methods Department* decides how the manufacture is to be done and also arranges for proper tools, jigs, and fixtures. These tools are made in the fine tool room where expert tool makers work. To assist them there are installed machines suited to precision work. To give an instance, the jig borers used are correct to 1/1000 of a millimetre.

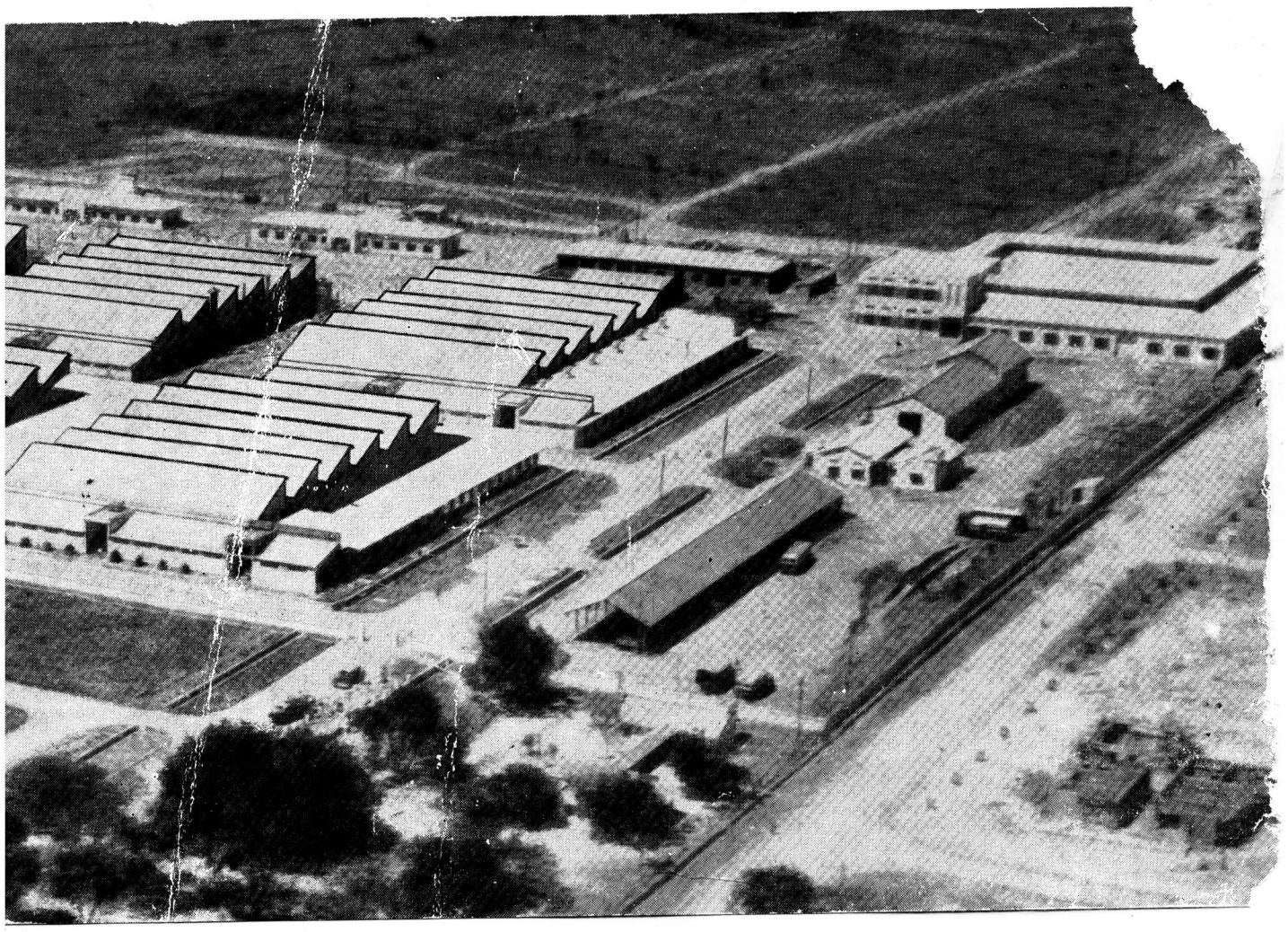
With the raw materials, manufacturing drawings, tools and other information, the *Machine Shops* are now in a position to take up their work. The machines number over 1,200 and vary in size from the heavy 150 tons presses to small cord binding machines. Over 60 automatic lathes, high speed screw making machines, die casting machines for light alloys, moulding presses for making the telephone case and other moulded parts, condenser winding machines, machines for milling and drilling, high speed coil winding machines and different kinds of lathes are some types of machines that are in use.



A VIEW OF THE MOULDING SHOP



AN AERIAL VIEW OF INDIAN TELEPHONE INDUSTRIES



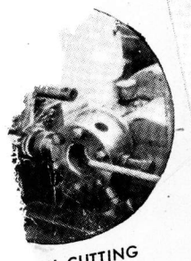
Generally, the parts coming out of the machine shops have to be given a protective coating, either of paint or of some metal. Before the heavy iron work is painted, it is processed in such a way as to make it rust proof for the period of 25 years or so that it is required to serve in an automatic exchange. The entire rust is removed and the surface cleaned by shot blasting after which bonderising is done and finally the spray painting. In the *Plating Shop* — well ventilated and unlike similar places remarkably free from fumes — chromium, cadmium, nickel, zinc and copper coatings are given to the different components — the right type and the right thickness for each. Thus every component is properly prepared to withstand the severe tropical conditions to which the equipment would be subjected.

From the *Finishing Shops*, the components come to the *Assembly Shops*. The telephone assembly is carried out over a conveyor belt at the end of which a complete telephone appears every 2½ minutes; a two motion switch takes about 10 minutes. The racks for the exchanges take much longer and so do the carrier telephone equipments.

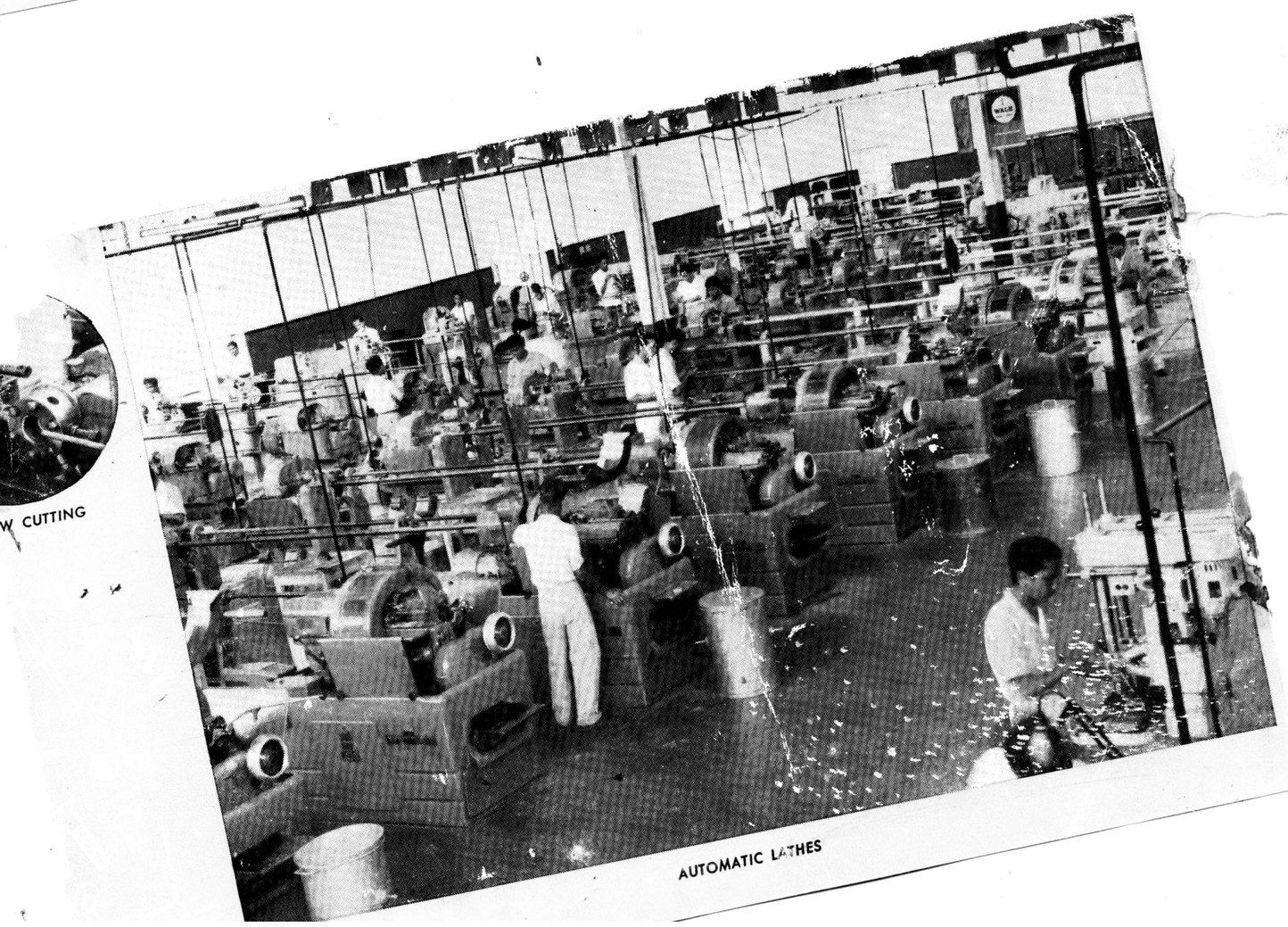
ELECTRO-PLATING SHOP

I. SWITCH ADJUSTMENT LINE

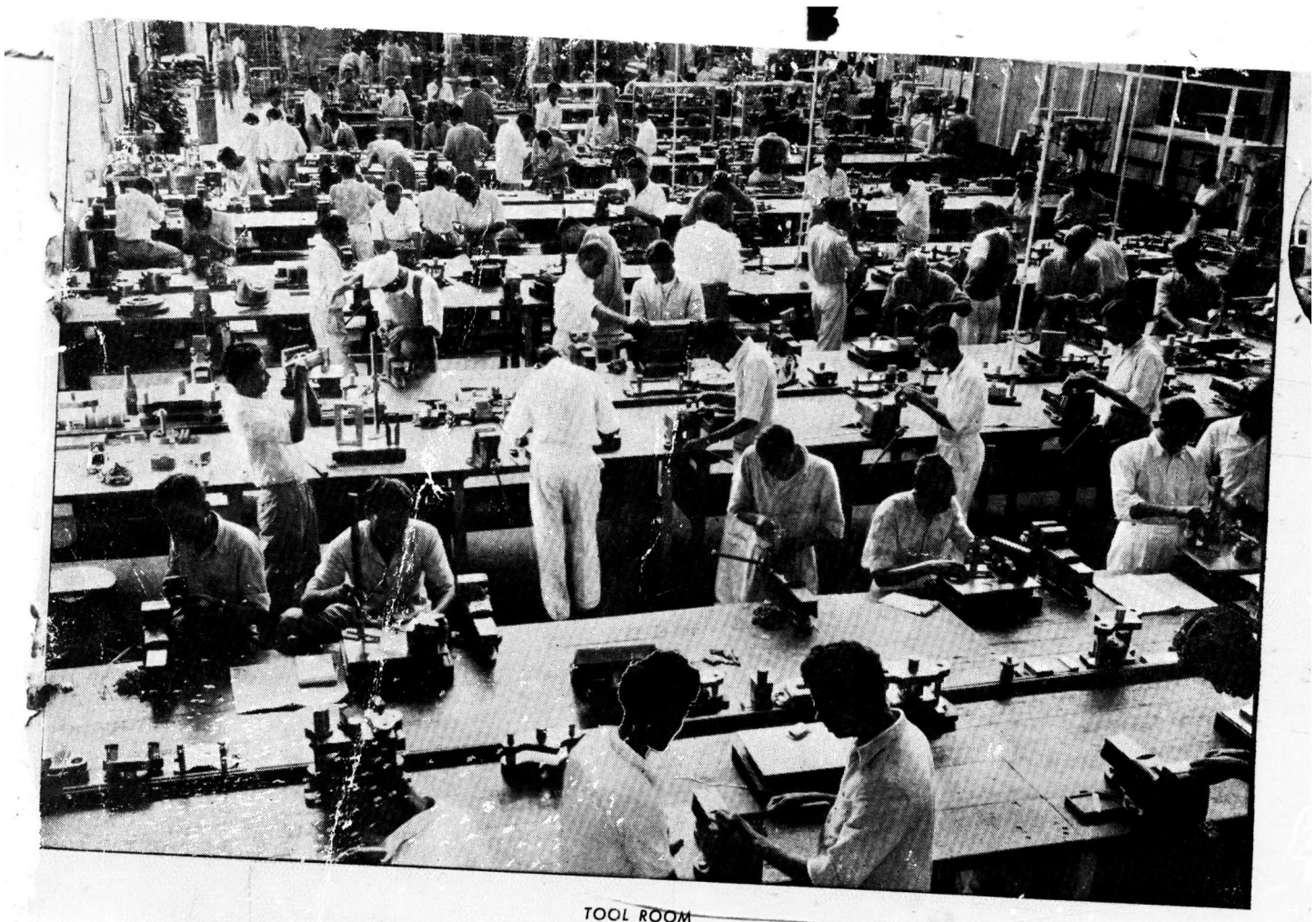
TELEPHONE ASSEMBLY LINE



W CUTTING



AUTOMATIC LATHES

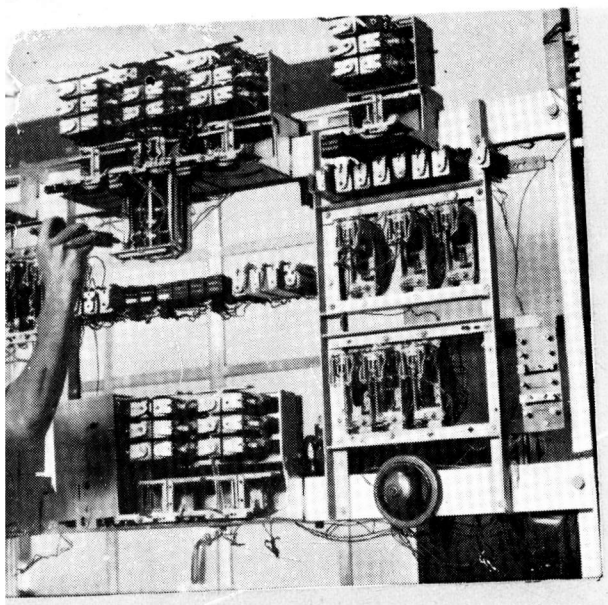


TOOL ROOM

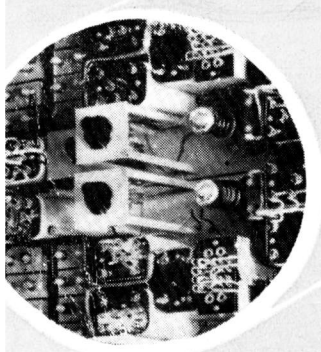
The *Inspection Department* comes in at all stages. Raw materials, components while being produced or coming out of the Finishing Shops, sub assemblies, assemblies as well as the final product are all subject to inspection. Statistical Quality Control technique helps in elimination of wastage and in ensuring that the products conform to the standards and specifications; with the control over the quality at every stage, the consumer can always be sure of getting equipment according to the samples and literature.

There are other important departments also. Of these, the *Maintenance* people instal the machines, keep them in working order and make periodical overhauls. The *Transport Department* looks after the inter-shop movement of the goods and also the external transport. The *Building Branch* designs, constructs and maintains the buildings, roads and water supply system.

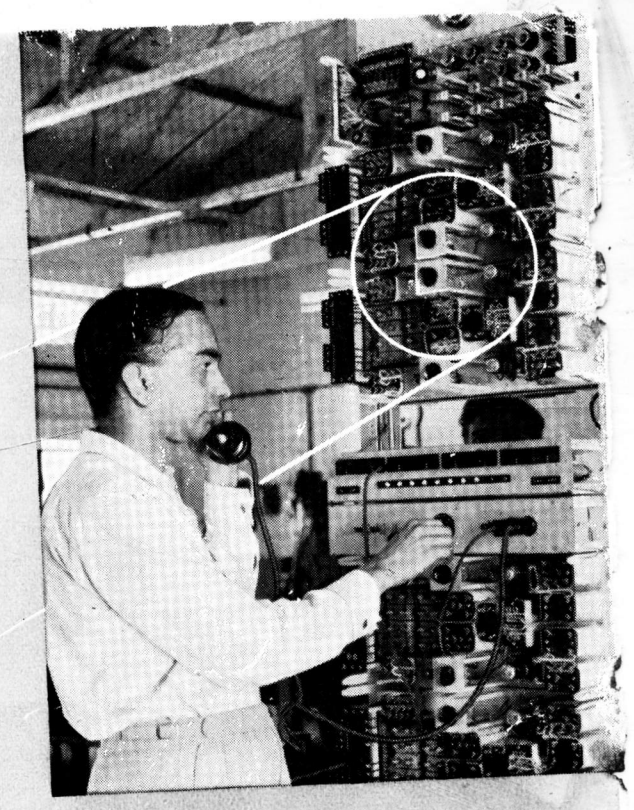
A separate branch looks after the *sales* of the equipment. The sales include not only telecommunication equipment but also items like screws and other turned parts for which the outside orders of components run into lakhs. Besides these, there are the departments for *Accounts, Cost Accounts, Personnel and Administration*, each responsible for work particular to it.



OF SWITCHES



AN ENLARGED VIEW



TESTING THE CARRIER EQUIPMENT

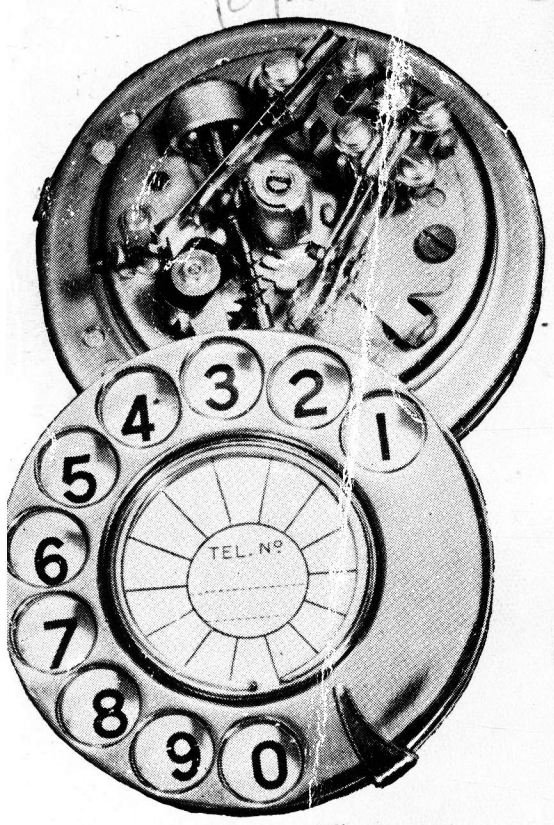
STAFF WELFARE

A Safety Committee with Sub-Committees in each shop is ever alert with the object of reducing the number of accidents, even those of a minor nature, to nil. The Suggestion Committee examines all suggestions and recommends suitable awards for good ones.

The welfare of the employees is one of the chief concerns of the Company. A canteen with spacious lunch sheds run by Employees Co-operative Society, provision of water coolers in each workshop unit, free supply of milk and also aprons etc. to certain categories of workers, are some of the facilities given. In addition, transport facilities of subsidised rates have been provided to about 1,500 employees who come to work from Bangalore. A dispensary with a full time Medical Officer and other staff provides first-aid and out-patient treatment to employees. A full-fledged hospital with modern equipment estimated to cost over Rs 4 lakhs is under construction. The employees are encouraged to develop their sports and artistic talents by formation of clubs and associations which are generously aided by the Company both financially and otherwise.

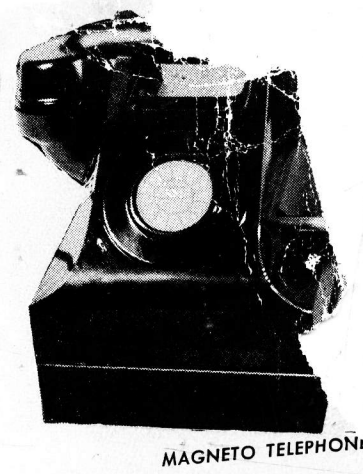
A welfare fund known as the Rafi Welfare Fund has been instituted, financed by voluntary donations from employees themselves with the object of granting loans without interest to employees in times of distress and also to make outright payments to the employees in need of assistance or their dependents in case of the death of the employee.

ITI Magazine, a journal published every month, serves to develop industrial relations within the Factory and promotes public relations outside.



DIAL (FRONT & REAR VIEWS)

C B. TELEPHONE



MAGNETO TELEPHONE

SWITCHING TELEPHONE

RAILWAY CONTROL
TELEPHONE (PORTABLE)

(b) AUTOMATIC EXCHANGES

...e automatic exchanges made at Duravaninagar are of ... Strowger type. These comprise mostly of switches and racks. The switches are not all of the same type; however they have one thing in common which is that all have a complicated electro-mechanical mechanism. A final selector switch has over 1,000 parts. To ensure proper working, these parts have to be made very accurately and the relays and the moving parts correctly adjusted.

Each rack contains miles of wire and about 50,000 soldered joints. A number of racks connected to each other go to form an exchange.

For rural areas have been designed cheap automatic exchanges. These are for 10, 25, and 50 lines and are connected to the nearest trunk or manual exchange. Entirely self-contained and totally encased in metal cabinets, these require very little attention. The same equipment without facilities for trunk working etc. can be used for intercommunication systems in offices and factories.

To meet the needs of the smaller towns are made exchanges having capacities from 100 to 600 lines. These are a simplified version of the large exchanges ordinarily made for the Posts & Telegraphs Department.

Total P-18

TOWNSHIP

AROUND the Factory is planned a modern township with about 2,000 houses out of which only about 250 have so far been constructed and occupied. The smallest unit has two rooms with kitchen, bath-room and lavatory and an independent court yard. Every house has electric and water connections.

Ample open space has been left for playgrounds, children's parks and other parks. The township will have a fully equipped hospital, schools, markets, clubs, a stadium and a cinema hall.